

First, I believe we must put an end to any explicit or implicit involvement of foreign money in political campaigns. As the Thompson hearings have gone forward, and the investigations of the financing of the 1996 campaign reported, I have been increasingly disturbed at the prospect that a foreign government would endeavor to influence American foreign policy through campaign donations. We need real teeth in our federal statutes to prevent this from ever happening.

In addition, a campaign finance reform bill should include fuller disclosure than that which is presently required. I believe campaigns which reach a certain level of activity ought to be reporting, on-line, their contributions in a much more timely fashion. I also believe that independent committees should be required to make the same type of total disclosure. The increasing role that advocacy advertising and independent expenditures are playing in our campaigns demand that the funding sources for such activities be disclosed and made available as part of the campaign debate.

Third, I believe there should be more democracy with respect to the activities of political action committees. Whether it's labor PAC's, trade association PAC's, issue advocacy PAC's or corporate PAC's, the leaders of our political action committees too often act in a fashion inconsistent with the wishes of the very people whose money they are spending. I think this is wrong. I think our campaign finance reform bill should create a mechanism by which donors to PAC's are able to easily indicate at least the political parties, if not the specific candidates, they want their fund to benefit. Such a reform in my view would much more effectively justify the existence of political committees in the future.

Finally, with respect to my list of things that should be included in a campaign finance reform bill is the subject of fundraising in government buildings. Evidently, the question of what can and can not be done within Federal buildings and on Federal property is in need of clarification. I suggest that we eliminate any uncertainty that might currently exist and expressly prohibit such practices once again.

Mr. President, this then constitutes the context in which I believe campaign finance reform must be addressed. As we move forward with amendments and develop a bill, I will be monitoring our progress to determine whether the priorities I've established here today are satisfactorily addressed. Legislation which does so will receive my backing. Legislation which fails to accomplish these objectives will not.

In closing, Mr. President, I would also make several additional points. Contrary to the innuendoes contained in much of the media coverage of campaign financing I believe the Members of this body conduct their official busi-

ness in a fully honorable and respectable fashion. While the way we finance elections sometimes gives rise to the appearance of impropriety, the truth is that the Members of the Senate are motivated by and act on the basis of long established personal philosophies and not campaign donations.

I would say without question that the proponents of the legislation before us are fine examples of people whose integrity is unquestioned. If tomorrow Senator MCCAIN found himself with Senator FEINGOLD's contributors and vice-versa, I do not believe either would cast one vote or take one action differently than is their current pattern, and I feel that way about the other Members of this body as well.

Mr. President, I think it is important that we say these things and that we not allow the innuendoes and criticisms to go totally uncontested.

At the same time, though, as we struggle to find consensus legislation, I think all of us have an obligation to take personal action—regardless of what the election financing laws might be at a particular point in time—to reassure our constituents that we are acting in an appropriate fashion.

Frankly, Mr. President, I'm tired of hearing political figures on the one hand condemn the way we finance elections and then on the other hand engage in all of the conduct they purportedly abhor, based on the rationale that they will not unilaterally disarm themselves.

Instead of exclusively focusing our energies on passing legislation in an effort to, in theory, save us from ourselves, I think each of us should undertake those actions we determine to be most appropriate to address the perception problems which exist regarding campaigns. I think we should set these examples regardless of what the campaign finance laws might permit.

If we think it's wrong to receive a disproportionate amount of our campaign contributions from out of our States, then we should stop taking a disproportionate amount of contributions from out of our States. Similarly, if we think independent committees operating on our behalf or in support of our efforts are acting in an inappropriate fashion, we should say so clearly, publicly and definitively.

Instead of simply debating campaign finance reform while conducting business as usual, I think every Member of this Chamber who feels strongly about these issues should take some action, independent of anything that might happen legislatively, to make the system better. I intend to do so, Mr. President, regardless of what the outcome might be of these campaign finance reform efforts. If that means I am disadvantaged in my campaign should I decide to seek re-election, so be it. In fact, Mr. President, during my campaign in 1994 I unilaterally acted to limit the flow of PAC and out-of-state dollars to my candidacy.

Instead of simply waiting around for Congress to act, I will move ahead on

my own. I hope other Members will do the same and that we might lead by example.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BURNS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

#### CAMPAIGN REFORM

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, on the issue of campaign reform, the words I speak here might not climb to the intellectual level of constitutional dialog as others who are more versed in the subject. I don't think it has to go that high. I think the simpler we keep it, the easier it will be for the American people to understand what we are trying to do.

I want to premise this by saying that I believe, and strongly believe, in four basic principles:

We should abide by current law.

We should have full and timely disclosure.

All contributions to campaigns must be voluntary contributions.

And, yes, we have to abide by the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Through this debate, a debate, I might add, whose time has come, a lot will be said of the good and not so good points of the pending legislation, which, basically, right now is the new McCain-Feingold legislation. It does address some of the concerns that I have had from the beginning. However, I am still bewildered by one basic question in this whole process that we have been through since Christmas a year ago: Why is it, no matter what law we have, that it has become common practice to ignore the law?

I suggest to my colleagues, after all is said and done—and maybe more will be said than done—but to change our existing campaign finance law, one important question remains to be answered: Why do we reform or rewrite? Why don't we just abide by current law?

It is only logical to me that the best campaign reform is to enforce current law. If one or a series of campaign laws have been broken, it is clear to me that the enforcement of such laws should take center stage in every case. Indicting the breakers of the law, the alleged violators, would do more to reform campaign finance practices than any proposed legislation that we could ever pass through this body.

Think about that a little bit. Indicting the alleged violators of present law